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A

LETTER

FROM THE HONOURABLE

Warren Hastings, Esq.

GOVERNOR - GENERAL OF BENGAL,

TO THE HONOURABLE THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Dated from Lucnow, April 30.

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT,

Dated May 13, 1784.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DEBRET, opposite Burlington-House,
Piccadilly.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

L E T T E R

FROM THE HONORABLE

Walter Hallings, Esq.

GOVERNOR - GENERAL OF BENGAL

TO THE HONORABLE THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Dear Sir,

WITH A

POSTSCRIPT.

Done at Calcutta, 17th

LONDON.

Printed by J. Durrant, opposite Burlington House,

Strand.

DAY OF CALIFORNIA

AT LOS ANGELES

LIBRARY SETS

OCT 10 1940

TO THE HONOURABLE
COURT of DIRECTORS

OF THE HONOURABLE
United EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Lucknow, April 30, 1784.

HONOURABLE SIRs.

I HAVE judged it incumbent upon me to make trial of every practicable Chance of conveying to you the earliest Intelligence of my Arrival at the Place from which this Letter is dated, and of the first Effects produced by the Accommodation, which took Place, by the Resolution of the Governor General and Council, passed on the 31st of December last, and already notified to you by the

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successive Dispatches of your Ships. I shall begin the Thread of my Report from that Date.

I soon after found that the State of this Country was so disordered in its Revenue, and Administration, and the Credit and Influence of the Nabob himself, so much shaken by the Effects of the late Usurpation of his Authority, and the Contests which attended it, as to require the Accession of an extraneous Aid, to restore the Powers, and Constitution of his Government; and I was strongly, and repeatedly urged, to repair hither in Person for that Purpose.

These Instances, though declared to be conformable to the wishes of the Nabob Vizier, his Family and Ministers, having been privately conveyed to me, I represented them as such to the Board on the 20th of January, and offered my Services to go to Lucknow, whenever the Nabob Vizier should require it, which I knew from undoubted Authority he would, with his Answer to the Notification formally made to him, of the Resolution of the 31st of December.

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My Reasons for thus anticipating the Occasion were many: the distracted State of Affairs, which every Suspension of a Day would aggravate; the Season of the Collections, requiring the Application of early Exertions for their Security; and my own infirm State of Health, which was not equal to sustain so long a Journey, if protracted to the Commencement of the Hot Winds.

My Offer was accepted by a conditional Declaration on the Part of Mr. Wheler, and I made instant Preparations for the Journey.

On the 14th of February the Nabob's Invitation arrived; I repeated my Proposal, the same Authority decided its Acceptance, and on the 17th I took my Leave of the Board, and departed from Calcutta, with a severe Indisposition, which had seized me some time preceding, then hanging on me; happily, the Change of Air effected my speedy Cure, and on the 27th Ult. I arrived at this Place in a State of Health so confirmed, as to promise an unremitted Attention to the very important Objects of my Commission.

On my way, I had the alarming Perspective of a Soil so completely exhausted of its natural Moisture, by the Failure of one entire Season of the periodical Rains, that except the Fields of Grain, which had been kept in Vegetation by the uncommon Labor of the Husbandmen, and were still clothed with a luxuriant Produce, or retained the Stubble of the recent Harvest, the Plains exhibited an Appearance of Barrenness, so dreary, that even the Roots of its former Herbage no longer existed, and the deep Ravines, and Beds of Rivers, which I passed, threw up Clouds of Dust from their Channels. These are not Circumstances of trivial Observation, nor are they confined to the Lands of these Provinces; every Region of Hindostan has felt the same angry Visitation, and another Year of equal Drought, which is not to be expected in the Course of natural Events, would put it out of the Reach of human Wisdom to prevent, or retrieve the dreadful Calamity which must attend it.

Yet such is my Reliance on the Gratitude and unbounded Confidence of the Nabob, and his Ministers, that I dare promise, even
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at this immature Period, under every Circumstance, but the dreadful one which I have above supposed, and which I have stated as improbable, a successful Progress and Termination of the Measure which I have begun, equal to any Expectations which may have been formed of it, however sanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my Operations impeded, by Orders which I may not resist, and am allowed to remain to the Time destined for their Perfection; nor shall it be a common Obstruction which shall restrain me; for I possess such inherent Advantages as I trust will prove superior to every Species of Opposition, but the last Extremity of it. Indeed if such Springs as give the common Movements to popular Opinion, could influence my Proceedings, I have already experienced them in two Instances, one of which, I believe to have had the special Service I am engaged in for its Object, and the other, the general Ruin of my Authority.

I allude, first, to a Report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the Arrival of a Ship of War at Bombay, with the authentic Intelligence of my Dismission with Disgrace from
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my Office, which I received at the Instant that I was setting my Foot on the Shore at Nuddeah, for the Commencement of my Journey; and secondly, to a Paper transmitted to me by a respected Authority from Calcutta, containing Strictures on my former Deputation, said to be Part of a Report of the select Committee of the House of Commons, which unhappily apply to every Purpose of this, and which declare (with Horror I repeat it) a Right invested in the Commander in Chief of the Army, to oppose the Power delegated by the Government itself to its first executive Member, and to assert that Right by an Appeal to the Army for its ultimate Decision upon it. The Words of the Report (if it be such) to which I allude, are these :

“ By these Instructions” (that is the Instructions sent by the Court of Directors to Bengal in the Year 1774 and 1778) “ it appears, that the Governor General was positively restrained from the Exercise of any military Power whatsoever beyond the Garrison and Fortrefs of Fort William; so that the Delegation and Exercise of all
“ military

“ military Power beyond the Limits so de-
 “ scribed, was a direct and positive Diso-
 “ bedience of the Orders of the Court of
 “ Directors.”

“ Disobedience of Orders on a Point so
 “ delicate and important as that of wresting
 “ the Military Command from the Official
 “ Military Officer, who was invested with
 “ that Authority by the Orders of the Di-
 “ rectors, might have been productive of
 “ Consequences extremely prejudicial to the
 “ Service; if the Commander in Chief had
 “ asserted the Right invested in himself, a
 “ Contention for executive Power might pos-
 “ sibly have been the Consequence, and the
 “ Army, which in India is so peculiarly con-
 “ stituted, as to require not only exact Di-
 “ scipline, but the most perfect Subordina-
 “ tion, in Order to insure Obedience, must
 “ have ultimately decided where that Obe-
 “ dience was due.”

I dare not examine a Doctrine affirmed
 to be of so sacred an authority; yet I may
 humbly suggest that it never was, nor could
 have been intended to be applied to the actual
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Commander in Chief, whose Command was originally constituted by the Governor General and Council themselves, and therefore could not be rendered superior to, and independent of the Powers vested in the Governor General and Council, by an Act of Parliament passed before its Existence; nor included in any Instructions of the Court of Directors, also framed at a more ancient Period, if even at a later; and a Sense of National Duty superior to every Consideration of personal Safety, or the Reverence which is due to high Office, impels me to denounce, and to date the Fall of the British Empire in India from the Instant that it shall be decidedly declared, or understood, that any Commander in Chief of the Army, be his Title or Rank what it will, is, or may be, by any constructive Power, independent of the Government under which the wisdom of Parliament hath hitherto placed the Army serving in these Provinces, and every Member of it, in an implicit, and absolute Subjection to its Authority.

God forbid, that any future Pizarros, and Almagros, should disgrace the Annals of your Dominion, or mark the Traces of its Decline,
with

with the Blood of your Servants, and Soldiers, but the Contest will probably be of short Duration; and happy will it be for the Interests of Humanity, if such shall be the Issue, though dreadful to our own, whatever Period of Time may close it.

Let me add, nor let my Words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal Blow shall be struck, or from whatever Hand it shall proceed, its Effect will be, not a gradual Decay, but instantaneous Ruin, for your Existence hangs on the Thread of Opinion, which the Touch of Chance may break, and even that Source, which ought to flow with the Principles of its Duration, will, if productive of the same deleterious Streams, which have been lately seen to issue from it, prove the Cause of its Dissolution.

I am not myself apprehensive of any evil Consequence, from the partial, and limited Command, which I possess over your Army, in its tending to provoke a Competition; for in the first Place, I will never put it to the Issue of a Trial; and in the second, were the Board to permit the Commander in Chief to

come into this Quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope, that before he could arrive, this Province will have been so regulated as not to require any foreign Aid for its internal Protection, nor of Course any Exercise of the Powers which I possess, and which he might deem himself warranted to resist.

I proceed to repeat the Effects which have been produced to this Time, from the late Accommodation, and the Objects to which I look, for the final Issue of it.

Before my Departure from Calcutta I applied through a private Channel to the acting Minister, to advance an immediate Supply of Money to your Paymaster General at Lucknow, for the Subsistence of the Troops stationed in these Provinces, who were then many Months in Arrears, and suffered much additional Distress, from the Scarcity and Dearness of Grain. He instantly raised the Sum of ten Lacks of Rupees, which proved a critical, and effectual Relief.

Since my Arrival, he has made other Payments to a considerable Amount. These are
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particularized in the enclosed Account No. 1. in which I have included for your early Information all the Payments made in Liquidation of the Honourable Company's Debt, in the Course of the present Fuffelee Year, to which all Accounts of the Revenue are by old Custom adjusted, and which commences on the 11th of September, to the present Time.*

To this I have joined another Account No. 2, stating the probable Claims of the Company upon the Nabob Vizier, from the Beginning of the present to the End of the next Fuffelee Year, or to the End of September 1785.

On both these Accounts I shall offer a few necessary Remarks. First on No. 1. The

* From the 11th of September, 1783, to the 31st of January, 1784, received by Mr. Bristow, current Rupees 18,57,873	£ 185,787
From the 31st of January to the 30th of April, 1784, received by Mr. Wombwell current Rupees 44,97,795	450,000
	Total £635,787

first Sum of sixteen Lacks of Rupees stated as the Amount of Mr. Bristow's Receipts, is taken from his own Account in the Possession of Mr. Wombwell the Accomptant for this Station, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the Nabob's Officers, and I have referred it to the Board for Adjustment with Mr. Bristow, who alone can explain the Difference.

The second Article is the regular Produce of the current Revenue : I was early careful to guard the Minister against the Use of violent Measures to anticipate the Periods of Collection, for the Purpose of giving an ostensible Credit to the present System, by swelling the Amount of the Payments, made in Consequence of it, although the Exigencies of your State, induced me to press him to contribute what he could for their Relief, without adding to the Distresses of his own, for the Country will not bear it,

The third Article was obtained by my own Suggestion from Almas Ally Cawn, who complied chearfully and without Hesitation,
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considering it as an Evidence seasonably offered for the general Refutation of the Charges of Perfidy, and Disloyalty, which have been too laboriously urged against him, and carried at one Time to an Excess which had nearly driven him to abandon the Country, for the Preservation of his Life and Honor, and thus to give a Colour, to the Charges themselves.

It would scarce merit your Attention to be informed, that I have invested a Part of this Supply in Bills of Exchange payable to the Governor General and Council in Calcutta, to the Amount of Five Lacks of Calcutta Siccas; but as it is connected with an Arrangement which may prove a future Advantage to your Interests, in the Reduction of the Hoondyan, or Exchange, from sixteen per Cent. to five and a half, at which it is my Determination to fix it.

I have recommended to the Board to appropriate the Whole of this Article as a Fund for the Payment of the Interest on your Bonds, which had suffered something in their Credit, and current Value, from the Suspension
of

of the Payment of Interest some Months before I left Calcutta.

The last Article is the Balance of the Sum due from Fyzoola Cawn, by the Treaty made between him and the Nabob Vizier through the Agency of Major Palmer on the 16th of February, 1783. Two Lacks of this Amount are now in regular Course of Payment; the remaining three are not due by Stipulation till the next Season called Khereeef, which is a Period included between the Middle of September and the Middle of February. Some Days after my Arrival, I intimated to his Vackeel, my Wish to have both Payments immediately concluded, and his Master gave immediate Orders for it.

To this Instance of Respect for your Government, he has added another, in the Deputation of his Son to Lucknow, to confirm the Assurance of his Attachment to the Company, and British Nation.

What further Sums may be cleared in the Course of this Year, of which the most productive Part is already past, I cannot say; but

but it is my Hope, that a considerable Part of the Nabob's Debt will be liquidated, and the Discharge of the Remainder ensured by the Engagements of creditable Bankers, so that it may be wholly cleared within the Course of the ensuing Year.

The Account No. 2 is an Estimate formed on the actual Expence; but will be considerably reduced, if my future Prospects and Objects shall be answerable to my present Expectations. To these I proceed.

First. My first Wish is to realize the Amount of your Demands on the Nabob of Owde to the End of the next Fuffelee Year, and to obtain ample Securities for it, before I depart from him.

Second. My next Care will be to induce the Nabob's Ministers to appoint Bodies of regular Troops for the Support of his Collections, and the internal Defence of his Country. This will preclude the Necessity of calling for the Aid of our Troops, and I hope may prove the Means of releasing him from the extraordinary, and undefined Subsidy,

sidy, which he now pays for the great Detachment employed under the Command of Sir John Cumming in Rohilcund, and the Regiments which have been occasionally demanded, and remain scattered over other Parts of his Dominions; and of confining our Defence, and the Nabob Vizier's Payments, to the Brigade stationed at Cawnpore, and to the Subsidy paid by Treaty, for its Expence.

Third. My last and ultimate Hope is, that when these Objects are attained, your Wisdom will put a final Period to the ruinous, and disreputable System of Interference, whether avowed, or secret, in the Affairs of the Nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever, the Influence by which it was maintained.

This Country has no Inlets of Trade by which it can supply the Issues which are made from it; for excepting the Factory at Tonda, which subsists by a Contract making Part of your Investment, and the Produce of Opium, and Saltpetre, which is not considerable, I do not know any other Articles of Commerce from which it could derive any

Re-

Returns. Therefore, every Rupee which is drawn from its Circulation into your Treasury, must accelerate the Period at which its Ability must cease to pay, even the stipulated Subsidy. By the Continuance of this Fund, you maintain an Accession of *more than one Half to the military Establishment required for the Defence of your own Dominions*, without any Charge on your own Income; and you oppose a wide and powerful Frontier to your eventual Enemies.

That Force will continue to be an effectual Safeguard to the Country, which will suffer nothing by its Maintenance, because the Specie thus applied will of Course flow back into its Circulation; and it is a Tribute which it ought gladly to pay, for its whole Wealth would not in any other Way, yield an adequate Mode of Protection.

Few are the Advocates of the national Interests, and their Voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud Exclamations of private Rapacity; but I humbly assume to rank myself with the former, and to assure you, that if you seek for a permanent and

profitable System of Connection with this Country, you must confine your Claims upon it to the Line I have recommended.

If you transgress it, you may extend the Distribution of Patronage, and add to the Fortunes of Individuals, and the nominal Riches of Great Britain ; but your own Interests will suffer by it, and the Ruin of a great and once flourishing Nation will be recorded as the Work of your Administration, with an everlasting Reproach on the British Name.

To this Reasoning I shall join the Obligations of Justice and good Faith, which cut off every Pretext for your exercising any Power or Authority in this Country, while the Sovereign of it fulfils the Engagements which he contracted with you.

I have the Honor to be

With the most profound Respect,

HONORABLE SIRS,

Your most obedient

And most faithful Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

PS.

PS. *May 13, 1784.* This Letter, though purposely and declaredly written for instant Dispatch, has been detained by the sudden Appearance of an uncommon Phenomenon, which though in itself simple and unimportant, derived a Magnitude, like the less ordinary Events of the Physical World, viewed through the Medium of Superstition, from its Operation on the Opinions of Mankind. On the Night of the 11th of last Month, the Prince Jewan Bukht, who has long held the principal and most active Part in the little that remained of the Administration of the King, Shah Allum, and is his eldest Son, being about thirty-six Years of Age, fled from the Capital, attended only by his Mother's Brother and another Person; and rapidly passing the Bounds of his Father's Dominions, escaped far beyond the Reach of Pursuit, before his Absence was discovered; nor was the first Direction of his Flight known for some Days. The King sent circular Orders to every Quarter, that he might be apprehended and sent back to the Presence. The Nabob Visier and myself received Phirmauns (or Letters to that Effect, and in the same Terms. We waited three Days to learn the Course of

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his

his Route, and as soon as it appeared probable that it lay towards this Place, we addressed the Prince separately to inform him of the Commands which had been received, the Mortification which these would impose upon us of with-holding from him the Duties of Respect, if it was his Intention to come this Way, and he persisted in it, and therefore intreating him not to come. Answers were written to the King, with Information of the Part we had thus taken, and the utmost we could take in Obedience to his Commands : the Prince in Reply, disclaimed any Design, or Object, but such as were dictated by the most devoted Attachment and Zeal for his Father's Interests, demonstrated by his chusing for his Retreat the Place where the Vizier of the Empire, and the Chief of the English Nation resided, who were known to be incapable of abetting him in a different Conduct from that which he professed, and declaring that he would proceed at all Events, trusting his Destiny to the Conviction which must follow the Integrity of his Intentions. At the same Time, I received a Letter from Major Browne, in which he related a private Conference to which he had been admitted by
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the King, and in which his Majesty had expressed his Pleasure at hearing that his Son had chosen Lucknow for his Retreat, where he would be safe from the Consequences which were to have been apprehended, had he thrown himself into other Hands : and his Majesty enjoined Major Browne, with Repetition and Emphasis, to write so to me. It was accordingly resolved, to receive the Prince, and of Course to pay him all the Honors of his rank, which by the Constitution of Hindostan, were the same as those which were paid to the King himself ; and this Determination was instantly transmitted to the King, with our Reasons for it. In Conformity to this Plan, I accompanied the Nabob Vizier on the 7th Instant to the Prince's Encampment, at the Distance of about eighteen Miles from Lucknow ; and we paid him together the customary Forms of Obeisance. On the 9th he entered Lucknow, attended by the Nabob Vizier, myself declining, in Opposition to the Desire of both, to bear any principal Part in the Ceremony, though I could not refuse at the Prince's Instance, to appear in it, which I did, following him on Horseback as a mere attendant ; and on the same obvious

Motives,

Motives, the Prince having desired to be accommodated in a House near to my own, I resigned to him, that which I then occupied, and took immediate Possession of one of the Nabob's, which he had originally provided and prepared for my reception, within the Compass of his own Palace, and immediately adjoining to that which he lived in. I have been minute in detailing these little Particularities, because little as they are in themselves, they are not such in their Effects. The meanest Circumstances of such an Interview will be circulated to every Durbar in Hindostan, and construed the Prognostic of future Events, and in that Inspection may give Birth to them. It was my Duty therefore to avoid every Appearance which might be received as a Symptom of Encouragement, by exceeding the Limits of my present Relation to the Nabob Vizier, as his Guest, and to raise his Consequence, my own and that of the Nation which I represent; being independent of external Shew. I have the Satisfaction to know, that in this Line I have pleased both.

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The Nabob conducted the Prince to his Capital, seated on the same Elephant behind him, and attended him to the House appointed for his Accommodation. I paid my Respects to him there early on the Morning of the 10th, and had the Honour of a long Conversation with him, in which he explained to me all the Motives of his Visit, and painted the wretched Condition of his Father, which had been the primary Cause of it, in such Strength of Colouring, qualified with so modest a Dignity in every Occasion of Reference to himself, and such a Delicacy of Expression, where he touched upon those Circumstances of the Royal Sufferings, as might tend to the Diminution of his personal Character; as exceed my Powers of Language to do them Justice in the Recital of them.

I shall beg leave to deliver the abridged Account of what passed in the Words of a Letter, which I immediately wrote on my Return to my own Quarters, and with the Impression of it recent on my Memory, and dispatched the same Day to Mr. Wheler for his private Information, and that of the other Members of the Board.

“ The

“ The Sum was that his Father was a mere
 “ passive Instrument in the Hands of others,
 “ and that he had undertaken this Journey at
 “ the Peril of his Head, because it afforded
 “ the only Chance he had of a Relief to the
 “ King, or a Restoration of the Dominion of
 “ his House ; that if he could be the Instru-
 “ ment of Effecting this, he wished for no-
 “ thing for himself but the Credit of it, and
 “ a Conviction in his Father’s Mind of his
 “ having served him with Duty, Zeal and
 “ Fidelity. He observed that, distressed as
 “ the Royal Family was, he himself enjoyed
 “ a Comparative State of Comfort, possessing
 “ a Jagheer, Horses, Elephants, a Portion of
 “ Splendor, and domestic Ease and Pleasure ;
 “ that he had voluntarily made a Sacrifice of
 “ these Advantages, and given his Person to
 “ Fatigue and Distress, and his Life to the
 “ Hazard of the Obvious Consequences of
 “ his Flight, that he might attempt the
 “ greatest possible Service for his Father, in
 “ which if he failed, he would either return
 “ on his Majesty’s Command, which, he said,
 “ impressed him with such Awe, that he
 “ doubted his Ability, even at this Distance,
 “ to resist it ; or he would go to Calcutta,
 “ and

“ and there solicit a Passage in a Ship to
 “ England; for he understood the Voyage
 “ was but Five Months, and if it was longer,
 “ he could bear the Fatigues which others
 “ bore, and accommodate himself to any
 “ Situation of Life, which it became him to
 “ accept as a Lot, and to submit to it. He
 “ said, I was not to expect from his Father
 “ any other Letters than such as I had already
 “ received, and such as were consonant to the
 “ wishes of those who were about his Person;
 “ but that he knew his Father’s real Senti-
 “ ments, which were of a very different kind,
 “ and I might easily believe that the King
 “ must in his Heart, be pleased with a Con-
 “ duct, which could be attributed to no other
 “ Motive, than that of Fidelity and Attach-
 “ ment, and which could not be productive
 “ of ill, if it failed of the Means of Deliver-
 “ ance, from his Distresses. He painted the
 “ Situation of the King’s Family, in strong
 “ and affecting Colours. The whole of
 “ what he said on this Subject may be com-
 “ prized in a few Words. In the Course
 “ of the last Twelvemonth the whole Income
 “ which he had received for the Subsistence
 “ of so large a domestic Establishment, from

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“ a Ter-

“ a Territory of some Extent, and from the
 “ Rights of an Empire, which once yielded
 “ many Crores (I think he said fix) scarce
 “ amounted to a Lack and fifty Thousand
 “ Rupees. It was natural, he said, for those
 “ by whose Power the Sultanut, such as it
 “ was, was supported, to endeavour to raise
 “ themselves to the independent Possession of
 “ it; and to that he could submit; but it
 “ was the Condition of Vassalage and Mean-
 “ ness to which the Servants of the King had
 “ reduced him by degrading him into a mere
 “ Instrument of their interested and sordid
 “ Designs, that he regretted; and this was
 “ such a Condition as neither his Pride, nor
 “ the Sense of Duty would allow him to view
 “ with Forbearance. It would be impossible
 “ to follow this Discourse through every
 “ Branch of it, though connected; I have
 “ hastily written it, as it occurred to my
 “ Memory, and may have used Repetitions,
 “ which did not appear in its Original Deli-
 “ very. My Reply ought to be confined to
 “ its Substance. I told him that our Go-
 “ vernment had just obtained Relief, from a
 “ State of universal Warfare, and required a
 “ Term of Repose; that our Whole Nation

“ was

“ was weary of War, and dreaded the Re-
 “ newal of it; it would be equally alarmed
 “ at any Movement, of which it could not
 “ immediately see the Issue or Progress, but
 “ which might eventually tend to create new
 “ Hostilities; that I came hither with a li-
 “ mited Authority, and could not, if I chose
 “ it, engage in a Business of this Nature with-
 “ out the Concurrence of my Colleagues in
 “ Office, who I believed, would be averse to
 “ it; that the Country of Owde was in a
 “ disordered State, and the Nabob incapable
 “ of joining immediately in such a Plan, and
 “ that my sole Business here, was to assist
 “ him with the Power and Influence of our
 “ Government, in retrieving his Affairs,
 “ which I hoped a few Months would effect,
 “ and enable him to perform the Duties of
 “ Loyalty to his Sovereign. In the mean
 “ time the Prince’s Residence in this Place,
 “ though he sat still and inactive, would be
 “ of some use; it would be a Check on the
 “ People at Delhy, who would not dare to
 “ proceed to further Extremities, but find it
 “ their Interest and Policy to make their
 “ Court to the King, while there was an
 “ Appearance or Possibility of his Cause

“ being espoused from this Quarter, with so
 “ powerful a Sanction for it; that I would
 “ represent his Situation to the joint Members
 “ of my own Government, and wait their Deter-
 “ mination. In the mean time I advised him
 “ to make Advances to Madajee Scindia,
 “ both because our Government was in inti-
 “ mate, and sworn Connection with him, and
 “ because he was the effectual Head of the
 “ Marattah State: besides, I feared his taking
 “ the other Side of the Question, unless he
 “ was early prevented. This is all that ma-
 “ terially passed betwixt us.”

It will be proper to add that no Person was
 either present, or within hearing during this
 Conference, and that I have yet only made a
 private Communication of it to the other
 Members of the Board, as there are many
 Circumstances related in it which ought not
 to be exposed to the risk of being publicly
 known.

Major Browne who is your Resident at the
 Court of Delhy, left it on the 2d Instant, by
 the King's Command, on the express Errand
 of reconducting the Prince to Court, and to
 give

give him an Assurance of Pardon for his past Transgression.

What may be the final Issue or even the progressive Events of this Visit, I cannot conjecture, the Scene is too Novel to be judged by any Comparison, of such as have fallen within the Compass of my Experience. I can only promise my most watchful Care, that it may not lead to any Consequences, which may involve your Interests, interfere with the Oeconomy of my present plan, or disturb the Tranquility of your Possessions.

I am strongly tempted to mention, and I hope not improperly, one Trait of the Prince's Character, which has fallen within my own imperfect Observation. When he arrived at the Place where the first Honors were paid him, on his approach to Lucnow, he was devoid of almost every necessary of Life, and had scarce a Change of Raiment for his own use: nor was his Situation with Respect to the means of Expence, immediately improved on his Arrival at the Place of his appointed Residence at the City. To his own Distresses he appeared insensible, or affected

affected a Spirit of Self-dependence, which raised him above the Consideration of them; but he privately hinted to the Gentleman, who was appointed by the Nabob Vizier, and myself, to attend on him on our joint Behalf, that the King, his Father, was in such a State of Wretchedness, that any Supply of Money, however small, would be an Acceptable Gift; even at the Instant in which I am writing, I receive an additional Evidence of the same Disposition, which whether it be real Benevolence, or let it flow from whatever Source, is at least commendable, in a Report made to me by the same Channel, which is that of my Persian Interpreter Captain Scott, who is just returned from the Prince, to whom the Nabob Vizier had sent him with a Supply of 15,000 Rupees for his private Expence; and I shall use his own Words written immediately in my Presence for the Recital of it.

“ His Highness received the Money with
“ many Expressions of Thanks, but observed,
“ that while he knew his Father daily experienced the greatest Distresses, he thought
“ it unlawful for him to enjoy the Luxuries
of

“ of Life ; that he wished therefore, the Go-
 “ vernor and Nabob Vizier would remit the
 “ Money to the Nabob Mirza, for his Majesty’s
 “ Use. His Highness observed also, that he
 “ at present, from the Attention of the Eng-
 “ lish and Nabob Vizier, had many Super-
 “ fluities, which he should dispatch to his
 “ Majesty in a few Days.”

WARREN HASTINGS.

AMONGST the various Charges brought
 against Mr. Hastings, by Mr. Fox,
 Mr. Burke, and their Friends in the late
 House of Commons, and by Lord Carlisle in
 the House of Lords, during the Progress of
 the India Bill of the last Year, there was not
 one so forcibly urged, as the following : that
 Mr. Hastings had treated the Nabob Vizier
 of Owde with Cruelty and Injustice. In the
 ingenious Novel published by Mr. Doddsley,
 under the Title of Mr. Burke’s Speech, we
 are told, “ that the Vizier is reduced to Sla-
 “ very, and Indigence ; that the Natives of
 “ In-

“ Indostan have conspired for our Destruction,
“ tion, as a Nation in which no other could
“ put any Trust, and who were the declared
“ Enemies of the human Species.” Mr.
Fox with one Dash of his Pen, struck out the
Sum of £789,828, the Balance due to the
East India Company from the Vizier. One
Gentleman in the House of Commons, Mr.
Orde, who had been an active Member of the
secret Committee, opposed to the Blaze of
Eloquence with which Mr. Fox had over-
whelmed the House, a plain and simple Fact,
“ That whatever the Distresses of the Vizier
“ might have been, Mr. Hastings was not
“ accountable for them. He had contended,
“ and justly, that the Treaty concluded by
“ himself with Sujah Dowlah, continued bind-
“ ing between the English and his Successor.
“ It was the Majority of the Supreme Council
“ who broke that Treaty, and are of course
“ accountable for what has since happened.”
In Order to prove that Mr. Orde was per-
fectly right, though the Voice of Reason and
of Truth could not *then* be heard, the fol-
lowing Facts are submitted to the Considera-
tion of the Public.

In

In the Year 1764, Sujah Dowlah the Father of the present Nabob Vizier of Owde, invaded the Province of Bahar, but was defeated by the English at the Battle of Buxar, Having been driven out of the greatest Part of his Dominions in the Course of the Campaign, he surrendered his Person to General Carnac in May 1765. Lord Clive, a few Months after this Event, concluded a Treaty of Peace with him, by which he recovered his Dominions, and entered into a strict Alliance with the English. From this Period, till the Year 1770, a third of our Military Force, was stationed in his Dominions, or at Allahabad, and paid by the Extraction of Specie from Bengal. When Mr. Hastings succeeded to the Government of Bengal in April 1772, his Plan was, to confine our Resources and our Expences within the Banks of the Caramnassa ; but in consequence of Measures *entered into, previous to his Arrival in Bengal*, a Brigade of our Troops was ordered by Sir Robert Barker, to march to the Assistance of Sujah Dowlah, in Order to repel the Maratta Invasion of Rohilcund. The Treaty concluded between Mr. Hastings and Sujah Dowlah in September 1773, con-

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fisted

sisted of three material articles: The first is, that as the King Shah Allum (*one Year previous to Mr. Hastings's Arrival*) had quitted our Protection, and granted Sunnuds to the Marattas for the Provinces of Carah and Allahabad, which were expressly assigned to him for the Support of his Dignity, we ceded these Provinces to the Vizier, in consideration of his paying 50 Lacks of Rupees to the Company. The Second, that when a Brigade of our Troops acted in conjunction with his Forces, his Excellency might defray the whole Expence, which was fixed at two Lacks and 10,000 Rupees a Month. The Third, that if the Rohillas did not comply with the Conditions of the Treaty, to which the English were Guarantees, we were to assist Sujah Dowlah, in taking Possession of their Country. This was at the Time a Secret Article; but the first Proposition on the Subject was made by Sir Robert Barker in the Month of March 1773.—No Attempt was made by Mr. Hastings, or his Council to encroach upon the Independence of Sujah Dowlah, or to interfere with him in the Management of his Country; but on his Death in February 1775, the Majority of the Supreme

preme Council determined to pay no * “ Re-
“ gard to the Bonds of Treaty by which they
“ were connected with his Father. They
“ considered them as a mere personal Obli-
“ gation, and avowedly directed the Line
“ of their Conduct towards the Son, by a
“ View of drawing from it the greatest possi-
“ ble Benefit to the Company’s Affairs; ha-
“ ving determined that the specific Condi-
“ tions of their former Alliance with the
“ Vizier expired with him.” “ A Treaty
“ was agreed to between the Nabob and Mr.
“ Bristow on the 21st of May 1775, and
“ confirmed by the Governor General and
“ Council on the 6th of June following, by
“ which the Provinces of Corah and Allaha-
“ bad were guaranteed to the Nabob, and
“ the stipulated Subsidy for the Service of
“ the Brigade, was increased to Two Lacks,
“ Sixty Thousand Rupees per Month. But
“ the great Point of Advantage which the
“ Company derived from this Treaty, was
“ the Sovereignty, and Possession in Per-
“ petuity of the Districts under Rajah Cheyt
“ Sing.”

* 5th Report Secret Committee, &c. Page 96.

“ The Advantages, and honourable Sti-
 “ pulations acquired to the Company by this
 “ Treaty, are earnestly pointed out in their
 “ joint Minute, by Messrs. Clavering, Mon-
 “ son and Francis; and they claimed great
 “ Merit with the Directors, on Account of
 “ this Measure, which they declared to be
 “ strictly, and exclusively their own, in De-
 “ spite of the Opposition given to it by the
 “ Governor General and Mr. Barwell. It is
 “ however to be observed, that the Governor
 “ General, in his Remarks upon these bene-
 “ ficial Representations, persisted in his pro-
 “ phetic Apprehensions, that the Conditions
 “ of the Treaty could never be fulfilled;
 “ and therefore ought not to be deemed ad-
 “ vantageous; neither did he think it ho-
 “ nourable to have extorted from the Nabob,
 “ *Concessions inconsistent with their former Trea-*
 “ *ties*, to which the Necessity of his Situation
 “ alone obliged him, however unwillingly,
 “ to submit.”

In the Month of December, 1775, the
 Nabob Vizier applied for British Officers
 to command his Troops, The Requisition
 was complied with; but in the Month of
 July, 1777, Mr. Hastings proposed, that
 the

the Regiments in the Vizier's Service, should be put upon the same Establishment with our own Army; for this he assigned Reasons, which are incontrovertible, and the Vizier assented to the Requisition. In the Year 1779, the Vizier complained very heavily, of the Injury which his Country sustained, from the expensive Establishments kept up in it; and it was then that he wrote the Letter, which Mr. Fox read in the House of Commons: Lord Sandwich, in the House of Lords: and Mr. Doddsley has published, as Part of an ingenious Romance, entitled Mr. Burke's Speech. When this Letter was received by the Supreme Council, Mr. Francis in strong Terms defended the Propriety of the Vizier's claim, and lamented that our Government was reduced to a Situation, in which it was compelled to renounce the Principles of Justice and good Faith, or to incur the Hazard of Ruin. Mr. Hastings on the other Hand contended, * " that the System which
 " has created our present Necessities, belongs
 " to the Administration which formed the
 " existing Treaty with Assof ul Dowlah
 " The Treaty which was concluded with the

* Select Committee, Appendix to 10th Report, No. 7.

" Nabob

(4085 p. 79)

“ Nabob Sujah Dowlah, placed him on the
 “ most respectable Footing, as the Sovereign
 “ of an independant State, and left all his
 “ Rights untouched; and the Duration of
 “ his Alliance with the Company, depend-
 “ ed yet more upon the reciprocal and equal
 “ Advantages which it held out to both Par-
 “ ties, than on the Formality of a written
 “ Compact. This Treaty was broken on his
 “ Death, and a new one, constructed on far
 “ different Principles, was made with his
 “ Son, and Successor, by which the latter
 “ eventually and necessarily became a Vassal
 “ of the Company; and their Interests bound
 “ by such strong, intricate Ties, as must
 “ render it dangerous at any Time to separate
 “ them, *and fatal to both at such a Time as*
 “ *this.*”—No Man who knew the State of
 India at that Period, could doubt the Pro-
 priety of this Remark. We were at War
 with France, and the Marattas. The Vizier
 had no Bodies of regular Troops to station in
 his Country, if our Battalions had then been
 withdrawn. We could not at that Moment
 disband them; and our own Funds were in-
 sufficient for their support. This reasoning
 had Weight with Mr. Francis; and the
 Troops

Troops were continued. In September, 1781, Mr. Hastings concluded a Treaty with the Vizier, by one Article of which all the Troops under British Officers were withdrawn from his Country, the regular Brigade excepted, nor were any Regiments to be sent in future, unless at the express Requisition of the Vizier, in which Case he was to pay a specific Sum for their Disbursements. The civil Establishment remained as heretofore. From September, 1781, to December, 1783, there were continual complaints from the Vizier and the British Resident, the former complaining of the Residents Interference, in his domestic Concerns; and the latter, of the general Disorder and Mal-administration of his Excellency's Government. Mr. Hastings proposed the Abolition of the Residency of Owde altogether, and offered to proceed himself to Lucknow to assist the Vizier, in regulating his Country; and in order to receive the Ballances that have been pronounced desperate. The Success of Mr. Hastings's Deputation is already detailed. From the 31st of January to the 30th of April, 1784, 450,000l. was received. When the Letter was written, the latest Intelligence

Mr.

Mr. Hastings had received from England, was, that Mr. Fox's Bill had been read twice in the House of Commons, and carried so far, by a Majority of Two to One; yet in such a Light did the Measure appear to Mr. Hastings, that although he expresses the utmost Indifference, for the event of it, as it might affect himself, he observes in a Letter to a Gentleman in London, received a few Days ago " I have received your Letter of November last, with the News of the second Reading of Mr. Fox's Bill. I will not believe it can pass. It is a Profligacy beyond Example." &c. &c. It will doubtless be a Subject of Wonder to future ages, that a Ministry formed of Men who had lost America and the West Indies, either by the weak and indecisive Measures of one of its component Parts, or the intemperate, unceasing opposition of the other, should combine for the Purpose of disgracing the Man who had preserved the Empire of Asia, committed to his Care, and under whose Auspices, Conquests had been made from our European Enemies, by the cession of which very important

portant Territories were secured to Great Britain in the Western World.

However the first Ground may have been changed, every Man of common Observation must know, that Mr. Fox originally urged the Necessity of a Bill for the Regulation of India, on account of the Mismanagement of Mr. Hastings, " who dissipated the Revenues of Bengal, disobeyed the Orders of the Company, and oppressed Thirty Millions of People." These Topics slightly touched upon by Mr. Fox, were considerably detailed by Mr. Burke, in the Novel published by Mr. Doddsley. If Gentlemen will have the Curiosity to read this Performance, and Mr. Fox's Speeches, while his Bill was in the late House of Commons, and compare them with the actual State of the Company, they will perceive how grossly the Coalition Ministry were misinformed as to the Affairs of India. Every Statement of Transactions of a former Date, which was made by the last Administration, has been proved erroneous. Every Prediction is falsified by the Events. * Lord Ma-

* The Speeches of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Gregory, Sir Henry Fletcher, &c. &c. &c.

cartney has not been suspended, nor was he at any Time in Danger of sharing the Fate of Lord Pigot. The Maratta Peace has not turned out a mere Truce, the separate Treaty with Madajee Sindia has not involved us in a War with Tippoo Sultaun, nor will it plunge this Nation into a War with France. The Debts due from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, the Nabob of the Carnatic, and the Raja of Tanjore, are recoverable without the British Government being reduced to the cruel Necessity of aiding them in Wars on their innocent People. The Disobedience of Orders, which, though so loudly proclaimed, is confined to the Cases of Mr. Bristow, and Mr. Fowke, has been so fully explained, that no Man of common Understanding can censure Mr. Hastings on that Head; yet it was last Year assigned as one of the first Reasons for violating the British Constitution; and to all these were added, that most curious of all Arguments, That the East India Company was composed of the Servants of the Servants in India. It required all the Ingenuity of Mr. Burke, to support so extraordinary a Proposition; but it is fully contradicted by

Facts.

Facts, Any Man who reads the List of Stockholders will find, that of the 1400 qualified Proprietors, there are not more than 100 who have been in India, and of these many are connected with the late Administration.

Without entering further into Detail, let us oppose our actual Situation in India, to what the late Administration stated it to be, when they brought in their Bill of Confiscation. Peace is universally restored, and we have not an Army in the Field, in any quarter of Indostan. The Bengal Detachment which had served with so much Glory in Guzzerat, arrived on the Banks of the Jumna, the 3d of February, and the six youngest Regiments of Sepoys in Bengal were disbanded in consequence of their Return. The Bengal Detachment under Colonel Pearce, which had been so highly distinguished in the Carnatic, was arrived on the 1st of May, at Masulipatnam on its return to Bengal, and would be in the Neighbourhood of Calcutta in August. A further Reduction of the Army was then to take place. All the Corps in Bengal

had been reduced to a Peace Establishment And every Sepoy Regiment from 1000 to 780 Rank and File. Reductions had also been made both at Madras and Bombay, to a considerable Amount. The enormous Expences which are naturally attendant upon a State of War had ceased ; and the People of England, who heretofore have been led away, by the interested Misrepresentations of Parliamentary Orators, will, at a future Period, recollect this striking Fact, That while Great Britain contracted a Debt of One Hundred Millions, in an unfortunate, and calamitous War, lost thirteen Colonies in America, several Islands in the West Indies, Minorca in Europe ; and at least One Hundred Thousand of her Soldiers and Sailors ; the Government of India, not only preserved the British Empire entire in that Quarter of the Globe, but actually conquered every Settlement belonging to France, and Holland, in Indostan ; and concluded a separate Peace with the Marattas, before Tranquility was restored to Europe ; and after performing these splendid Services, the Debts of the Company in India, do not
equal

equal at the present Moment, one Year of their net Revenues.

No Man who recollects the many extraordinary Events, which followed the Change of Administration in March 1782, will be surprized, that at that Period the Cause, and Conduct of Mr. Hastings should have been misrepresented, and that a Majority of Forty Three Members of the late House of Commons should have voted it necessary to recall him, because in the Opinion of some of his Majesty's Ministers, he had forfeited the Confidence of the Natives of India. The same Men recalled Lord Rodney, at a most critical Moment, although he had been more successful, and had added more Ships of the Enemy to the British Navy, than any one Officer in his Majesty's Service.

Whatever the Opinions of the Gentlemen who voted for the Removal of Mr. Hastings, might have been at that Period, it is an Insult to common Sense, to suppose, there is any Man conversant in the Affairs of India, who will now assert, that Mr. Hastings has forfeited

feited the Confidence of the Native Princes of Indostan. It was his Misfortune in 1782, to be opposed by a Ministry, who were in general very little versed in the Affairs of India. Even at a Period much later, Mr. Francis declared in his Place, in the House of Commons, that he believed he was the only Member who had read all the Reports of the Committees. This was going too far perhaps, but it is a notorious Fact, that in 1782, the Rockingham Party drew all their Information from Mr. Burke, who has told the Public in his Romance †, “ That if he has learnt any good
 “ Lessons, he learnt them from Mr. Francis;
 “ from whose Materials, even those who
 “ have least acknowledged it, have spoken
 “ as from a Brief.” How far it was consistent with Justice; or Reason, that a Man who has served his Country, and the East India Company, above thirty-four Years, in Offices of the first Importance in India, should be condemned upon the Representations of

† See Mr. Burke's Speech, of the 2d of December, 1783, printed by Doddsley.

his political Enemies, the People of England have determined, and it ought to operate so far as a Warning to those respectable Men, who are called the Rockingham Party in this Kingdom, as to prevent them in future from being led away by the Prejudices and Passions of Men, whose Talents are inferior to their own.

F I N I S.

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